

KNOXVILLE CHRONICLE.

EXTRA.

KNOXVILLE, TENN.: THURSDAY, AUGUST 13, 1874.

THE ADDRESS Of the Union Republican Con- gressional Committee.

To the People of the United States

You will soon proceed to elect your representatives for a new Congress. The occasion invites us to submit for your inspection the record of Republican achievements since that party was called to the administration of national affairs. We seize the opportunity to avow that record, not to abrogate it. We challenge your approval, not your pardon.

The obligations of government and people, like the obligations of servant and master are mutual.

The government, like the servant, owes faithful service. But the people, like the master, owe honest recognition of faithful service. Every thoughtful employer knows that he can not with impunity deny faithful labor. He who does so habitually will soon have no faithful laborers. The faithful servant will not submit to be treated as a faithless one. If so treated he himself will become faithless, or he will give place to one who is faithful.

DEMOCRATIC STATESMANSHIP.

It is thirteen years since the Republican party was first called to the administration of the National Government. For more than thirty years previously the Government had been almost uninterruptedly under Democratic control. Of that control there is hardly a memory left at which the nation should not blush. Seemingly, it was inspired by but one ambition—the had ambition to make our foreign policy as ignominious as our home policy was shameless. Our intercourse with powers weaker than ourselves was spirited enough. We bullied Austria out of a Hungarian refugee. We despoiled Mexico of a portion of her territory. We demolished Greytown. We flung millions in the ears of Spain as a lure for Cuba and the bribe was spurned.

In 1854 three of our Ministers abroad assembled at Ostend and issued a manifesto, in which they declared: "After we shall have offered Spain a price for Cuba far beyond its present value, and this shall have been refused, then it will be time to consider the question—Does Cuba in the possession of Spain seriously endanger our internal peace, and the existence of our cherished Union? Should this question be answered in the affirmative, then by every law human and divine we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we possess the power."

It adds piquancy to that extract to know that two of the ambassadors who in 1854 could think of no way of saving "our cherished Union," but to wrest Cuba from Spain were Pierre Soule and John Y. Mason. The third was James Buchanan.

But during all that time, and in spite of all that gasconade, there was not a single naturalized citizen who was not safely revisiting his birth-place, for there was not one whose citizenship was not absolutely denied by the sovereign under whose dominion he was born.

No American native or naturalized, could send a letter abroad except upon onerous conditions. We had then formed postal conventions with but seven foreign countries.

The lowest rate of postage stipulated in those conventions was ten cents for a letter weighing not more than one-half ounce. The highest rate of postage on the same letter was thirty cents.

We tamely relinquished to Great Britain a portion of our territory in the northeast; another and a larger portion in the northwest. We described the line agreed upon in the northwest so loosely that Great Britain immediately laid claim to large islands on our side of it. That insulating claim was neither resisted nor admitted. It was compromised by permitting the claimant to hold armed possession of one of San Juan, the most valuable of those islands, while we quietly squatted on the other end. And while, by successive concessions, we were constantly adding to the area of the Canadas, we stupidly relinquished to their products free access to our markets, as the equivalent of being allowed to send similar products from the Northwest, through Canadian channels, to such precarious markets as they could find on the other side of the Atlantic.

Such were the achievements of our diplomacy, during those years of Democratic supremacy.

CHEAP GOVERNMENT.

The story of our home rule would be sadder still, if anything sadder could be. It has been loudly vaunted that those were cheap administrations! Compared with the expenditures of these times they were cheap, very cheap. Compared with their worth to the country they were probably the most prodigal the world ever saw. They cost the people from fifty to seventy-five millions per annum. Those millions maintained for us the empty pageant we called Government. It was thereby worth less than that could be contrived. It was not even showy: it was vulgar. It had all the features of a government, but without its faculties. There were the three organs—legislative, executive, judicial. There was a constant succession of Congresses, Presidents and courts. Hundreds of courts were useful in hearing and determining private controversies. But what is there to show from the labors of the political departments? It seemed to be the sole end, if not the sole aim, of Government to collect money enough yearly to pay itself. It did not always succeed in doing that, as many loan bills enacted in times of profound peace still bear witness. Indeed, that party was peculiarly embarrassed in the collection of revenue. It dared not levy a tax except on the importation of a foreign commodity; and it always dreaded to tax the importation of a foreign commodity lest it might unwittingly promote some domestic industry. No well educated Democrat could tolerate such a result. So, deficient revenues were, from time to time, aided by loans. Such was the case in 1841, 1842 and 1846.

THE LOUISVILLE CANAL.

A great natural highway, the Ohio river, along which is poured a commerce of incalculable value, was obstructed by a rapid near Louisville. The interests of that commerce required a canal to be built around those rapids. Congress did not assume that duty, nor even let it alone. The State of Kentucky chartered a company to construct that canal and to toll the commerce of the Ohio. The United States aspired to the dignity of a stockholder in that company, and achieved it. The Government took and paid for 2,902 shares, at one hundred dollars each. Private parties took 7,098 shares. The canal was built, the tolls were fixed, commerce bloomed, and the company's treasury filled. The revenues were so large it seemed a pity the Government should share them. But as a stockholder, the Government was entitled to nearly one-third of the net revenues. The Government was not represented in the management of the company. That was governed by five directors, each of whom was a stockholder. Those directors concluded they could make a better use of the revenues than to divide them with the Government. To that end they resolved the canal ought to be made free. In order that it might be free it was resolved that the net revenues should be applied to the purchase of the private stock. Having found a market for the stock, there was nothing left but to fix the price of it. That was modestly set by the directors at only fifty per cent. premium.

Kentucky sanctioned the arrangement: the United States was not consulted. But it was evident that if the earnings which belonged to the United States were applied to purchase private stock, the United States would soon own a majority of the stock. To avoid such a catastrophe, Kentucky required the directors to pay for the stock with Government funds, but to have the stock transferred to the directors, who should hold it in trust for the United States, but vote on it as the legislation of Kentucky required.

In pursuance of these directions, the directors proceeded to apply the surplus earnings to the purchase of the private stock. Between 1842 and 1855 they paid for such stock, of the par value of \$709,800, the sum of \$1,709,292. Then the directors admitted they had received enough, and notified the Secretary of the Treasury they were ready to transfer the canal to the custody of the "General Government so soon as the Department may be prepared to receive it." But it happened that at that time the Secretary was also a Kentuckian. He evidently felt that he could take some liberties with his friends. He accordingly replied that Congress had not authorized the acceptance, "but requested the president and directors each to retain one share (for eligibility) and to manage it under the charter until authority might by law be conferred on the Department to receive it. The president and directors were to reply accordingly to the request. It should be noticed that the conduct of the Secretary exhibits an instance of deference to legislative authority on the part of a high executive officer which is believed to be quite unique. He could not feel free to take charge of the canal himself, because Congress had not told him to do so. Accordingly he gave it to his friends. Such exhibitions of scrupulous regard for the limits of jurisdiction are rarely witnessed. It is gratifying to know that this one was duly rewarded. When the distinguished Secretary retired from the Treasury he was made president of the canal company.

Of the subsequent management it is only necessary to state that the directors at once reduced the rate of tolls fifty per cent. But as the canal was only two miles long, and there were only five directors, they could manage to spend for their salaries and that of their assistants but \$44,012 per annum, to which they added \$22,000 for contingencies, consequently the revenues accumulated in the treasury of the company. To make that money useful, the directors organized themselves into a savings bank, and then the canal company deposited their surplus with the banking company. If the latter received as much for the use of the revenues as the former in collecting they ought to have been content. But avarice rarely is content. This anomalous corporation, with one body, one head, but two faces, was not content. When it was ascertained how profitable they could make money derived from the work they did not own, they desired to get more money.

They hit upon the expedient of hypothecating the canal and raising money under pretense of enlarging it. In 1860 Congress authorized the directors, "with the revenues and credits of the company, to enlarge the said canal." Under that act the company mortgaged the work for some two millions of dollars; and it is not yet known whether the Government will be able to recover it or not.

OTHER SPECIMENS OF DEMOCRATIC RULE.

That party did not overturn our rule system, notwithstanding it was a very good one. During the year 1841 the system was much improved; that must be confessed. But the Democratic party was not in power that year. We ought also gratefully to remember that the grants of land made for educational purposes were not repealed. The fact furnishes a striking illustration of sparing mercy. But the phenomenon is not difficult to explain. Such grants were made only to States in which the lands were very unimproved. The new States were very unimproved Democratic in politics. The States receiving the grants could alone administer them, and the party seems to have felt confident that grants so administered would not promote the cause of education more than grants of money had promoted the cause of commerce. All who are familiar with the early experience of the school funds in the Southern and some of the Western States, will need no other assurance that confidence was not misplaced.

The Capital was not transplanted. But when the Democratic party retired from control, in 1861, scarcely a building belonging to the Government was finished. Perhaps, however, the party would have avoided that cause of reproach if they had earlier formed the design of transferring those buildings to the use of another government.

Armies were then maintained. Their ranks were thin, but they were sumptuously officered—officered far too largely by those who had been educated in every soldierly grace save that of allegiance.

A navy was suffered to exist. But as it was found a little too loyal to desert its

flag, and a little too gallant to surrender it, when the hour of national peril arrived, that navy was scattered in remote seas.

DO-NOTHING POLICY.

The Presidents of those half-forgotten years were as diligent, by annual and special messages, to explain why the Federal Government could do nothing, as the Congresses were engaged in the temperance cause, one of whom lectured on the evils of intemperance, while the other furnished a shocking example; so Democratic Presidents were perennially eloquent in expounding the impotency of the National Government, while Democratic Congresses were as persistent in illustrating it.

The pretext for this strange sluggishness was an inviolable one. Constitutional inhibitions were pleaded in excuse for all omissions. They constantly neglected great national interests, because they feared to infringe upon the prerogative of States; they proclaimed themselves the champions of States' rights; they arrogated to themselves the name of the States' rights party. It was a specious pretense, but it was utterly insincere. So long as our archives remain, so long that every party will be known as the one which struck the foulest blow at the rights of States which could be contrived.

That is the party which, on the 18th of September, 1850, wrote the fugitive slave act in the statute book. By that act the United States commanded the Federal courts to multiply court commissioners without limit. By that act the United States offered such commissioners a clean bounty of five dollars each, for certificates that residents of Massachusetts, or of any other State, were fugitives from Texas or some other State, and when such a certificate was obtained, pledged all its forces to remove such resident to the State wherein he was claimed; which made that certificate, so purchased, of such hucksters, conclusive evidence of the right to remove, and commanded every tribunal within the insulated State to be still, and all its citizens to aid the outrage—a statute the very first of which was a free man from Pennsylvania, who, being declared a fugitive by a five-dollar commissioner, was transported to Virginia by the United States, and finding no man there base enough to claim him, he was allowed to get back at his own expense.

In all those years the national character had not been raised an inch. On the contrary, through them all, it had fallen constantly lower and lower. When England and France proposed, in 1852, to join with the United States in mutual renunciation of all designs on Cuba, an American Secretary of State did not hesitate to assign as a reason for refusing to join such a convention, "that it would give a new and powerful impetus" to attacks "on the island of Cuba, by lawless band adventurers from the United States, with the avowed design of taking possession of the island."—a request which the administration would be strong enough to resist.

THE ORDER OBEYED.

That command has been fulfilled. There is no slavery in any of your Territories. That will scarcely be denied even by the opposition journals. There is just a little slavery in any of the States. Something more than you then thought possible has been accomplished.

OTHER THINGS ACCOMPLISHED.

But there is no need to dwell upon the national achievements of the last thirteen years—they were too conspicuous not to have been seen; they are too recent to be forgotten. It will suffice to present a schedule of the leading events.

At home and abroad the Union was proclaimed to be dissolved in 1861. The Union is restored now.

Nine States then claimed to have left the protection of the Constitution forever. They have all returned to their protective allegiance. Those that thou gavest me I have kept, and none is lost," said the Saviour of men. The Republican party has preserved more than the States you committed to its keeping. It has found those which were lost.

In 1861 the "Confederate States of America," so called, were clamoring for admission into the family of nations. There is no longer any such pretense. Each one of those great but misguided communities now has honorable recognition as an integral part of the United States.

A race numbering millions has been raised from the condition of chattels to the state of man. Human rights have gained the sanction of three new chapters added to the national Constitution. Murder organized in several States, bearing the name of Ku Klux, wearing the garb and playing the trade of ruffians, has been exposed, convicted and punished.

Around our career has been scarcely less triumphant. Great Britain has corrected the mistake she made when she assumed that the appearance of the Confederate States was the sure premonition of the departure of the United States. She has done what Great Britain never did before—she has apologized for a mistake. Out of that mistake has sprung a new era in diplomacy.

Without the employment of force, but peacefully, the Republic which was defied by her own citizens, and despised everywhere in 1861, has led Great Britain voluntarily to submit her conduct to the judgment of nations, and in pursuance of that judgment, she has paid a fine of fifteen millions for the wrong she did us.

That is not all. Those islands to which she made claim on our Northwest coast she submitted to the judgment of the Emperor of North Germany, and submitted herself to the mortification of being told to surrender it. She was not awarded an equivalent for it. She was simply told she had claimed great possessions to which she had no right.

That is not all. If there ever was one principle of English jurisprudence which England believed to be inviolable and unalterable, it was the principle that a British-born subject could never change his allegiance. "Once a Briton, always a Briton" was a law she held to be as fixed as gravitation. She fought one war with us in defense of it. But after seeing our pitiful army of eleven thousand men suddenly swelled by volunteers to nearly a million, she wisely concluded it was not worth while to fight another war in defense of that principle, and by peaceful negotiation she has repealed the law she so long so obstinately held to be irrepealable. Germany has followed that wise example, or rather set the example Belgium, Sweden, Norway

and Denmark have done the same, and now when the Republic grants the boon of citizenship to one of Irish, English, German, or Scandinavian birth, the grant is recognized in the land of his nativity.

POSTAGE REFORM.

That is not all. If he can not revisit his home, but cares to write, a letter can be carried with marvelous celerity and at trifling cost. The following table exhibits the great reduction made in the rates of foreign postage by postal conventions framed since 1861:

| COUNTRY. | Postage chargeable for letters not exceeding 3/4 ounce. | | Reduction effected since Oct. 1, 1861. |
|---|---|---------------|--|
| | Oct. 1, 1861. | July 1, 1874. | |
| | Cents. | Cents. | Cents. |
| Argentina R. public. | 33 | 18 | 15 |
| Australia | 33 | 2 | 31 |
| Austria, German mail direct. | 15 | 6 | 9 |
| Austria, German mail via England. | 30 | 7 | 23 |
| Belgium | 42 | 8 | 34 |
| Bolivia, via Panama. | 45 | 13 | 32 |
| Canada | 10 or 15 | 6 | 4 or 9 |
| Chile, via Panama. | 45 | 13 | 32 |
| Denmark | 24 | 7 | 17 |
| East Indies | 31 | 10 | 21 |
| Evangelical mail direct. | 34 | 20 | 14 |
| Egypt, via Southampton. | 33 | 10 | 23 |
| France, except direct. | 30 | 16 | 14 |
| France, except direct, and via England. | 38 | 17 | 21 |
| Germany, German mail direct. | 30 | 11 | 19 |
| Germany, German mail via England. | 38 | 12 | 26 |
| Germany, German mail via E. S. | 15 | 6 | 9 |
| Germany, German mail via E. S. and via England. | 30 | 7 | 23 |
| Germany, German mail direct. | 35 | 14 | 21 |
| Holland | 42 | 15 | 27 |
| Holland, via England. | 47 | 10 | 37 |
| Italy | 45 | 19 | 26 |
| Java, via Southampton. | 45 | 24 | 21 |
| Japan | 33 | 12 | 21 |
| Norway | 46 | 16 | 30 |
| Paraguay | 33 | 18 | 15 |
| Peru, via Panama. | 38 | 22 | 16 |
| Portugal, via E. S. | 37 | 16 | 21 |
| Russia, German mail direct. | 29 | 11 | 18 |
| Russia, German mail via England. | 37 | 12 | 25 |
| Spain, Spanish Islands. | 10 | 6 | 4 |
| Spain, Spanish Islands. | 42 | 12 | 30 |
| Spain, Spanish Islands. | 38 | 22 | 16 |
| Switzerland | 42 | 8 | 34 |
| Turkey, German mail direct. | 31 | 11 | 20 |
| Turkey, German mail via England. | 35 | 12 | 23 |
| United Kingdom and Ireland | 34 | 6 | 28 |
| United Kingdom and Ireland. | 24 | 18 | 6 |
| Uruguay | 33 | 18 | 15 |

NO POWER TO SAVE THE GOVERNMENT.

A government which denudes itself right to aid commerce over the Des Moines Rapids, and which advertised its impotency to control its own filibusters, could hardly be expected to make a becoming figure when confronted with war. When, therefore, in 1861, the standard of rebellion was raised, and State after State wheeled defiantly into the ranks of revolt, it was perhaps not so very surprising that one-half the Democratic party joined the revolt, while the other half exclaimed it could not be resisted—not so very surprising that the six per cent. bonds issued in February, 1861, were sold at a discount of six per cent., and not so very surprising that Great Britain should have proclaimed the rebels to be lawless belligerents, before she knew a gun had been fired.

But it was surprising that a President of the United States should address a special message to Congress to persuade the public that, although the rebellion was illegal, yet the Government had no right to suppress it; for by that act he introduced to the world a Government, the like of which had never before been seen—a Government against which it was unlawful to revolt, and by which it was unlawful to suppress.

Such a government is described nowhere in political history, save in the message of President Buchanan.

Such was the style of administration, to which the Republican party succeeded on the 4th of March, 1861. That party was instructed to but one duty. As you had never known the National Government to do anything, you evidently did not expect it to do much. You simply commanded it to save your Territories from the deluge of slavery; that was all.

OUR POWER VINDICATED.

When in October last, a Spanish vice consul in Cuba so far forgot the respect due to the United States as to seize upon a vessel sailing under the protection of her flag, Spain promptly, without the firing of a gun or spilling a drop of blood made that honorable reparation which every just government is glad to make for a wrong done.

And this is not all. Our material development has kept pace with our political reforms, and despite the discouragement to immigration, and the positive drain of a great war lasting four years, our population increased between 1860 and 1870 more than seven millions. The increase was but a little more than eight millions during the previous decade. In spite of the enormous cost of that war, both in money and in muscle, our line of completed railroads has increased from 31,000 miles, at the close of 1861, to almost 72,000, at the close of 1873. One iron track spans the continent; others are projected and more are advanced in construction. That vast region between the Rocky Mountain range and the Sierra Nevada, which was almost unknown in 1861, is now traversed by highways in every direction, and its geography is as familiar to our children as the geography of New England was to the children of 1861. And here, within this very Republic which thirteen years ago the faithless Democracy turned over to the Republican party for burial, capital has combined to construct more miles of railway than all the rest of the world possesses.

Harbors and rivers have been improved, and the trade of our Western lakes and rivers now employs a commercial marine exceeding 1,200,000 tons.

Enlarged facilities for trade have swelled the volume of trade.

PUBLIC CREDIT ADVANCED.

Two facts are sufficiently eloquent of our

national growth. First, The six per cent. bonds issued in February, 1861, sold for ninety-four cents on the dollar. The nation then owed but sixty million dollars. The same bonds sold in June, 1873, as high as 122 1/2 cents on the dollar, in currency, or a fraction over 110 in gold, although the nation then owed two thousand million dollars. Second, The value of annual exports of domestic commodities increased from three hundred and seventy-three million in 1860 to six hundred and forty-nine million in 1873, being an increase during the period of two hundred and seventy-six million dollars.

There are those bold enough to assert that the country is now governed worse instead of better than formerly. Some may be found weak enough to believe such assertions. But it requires a great deal of declamation to prove that the day is cold when the mercury stands at 98 in the shade. The mercury won't lie. Men unhappily deceived by a successful agriculture and a great deal of rhetoric to persuade the country that it is being ruined by a Government which in thirteen years has advanced its credit throughout the money markets of the world fully thirty-three per cent., and has nearly trebled its surplus productions.

LAND POLICY.

But this is not all. Since the advent of the Republican party the finishing touches have been given to our land system. It was long ago adjudged that a dollar and a quarter was a full equivalent for an acre of the public domain. Accordingly that was fixed as the minimum price. That gave to the Government \$200 for a quarter section of land. But Republicanism adjudged that a dollar and a quarter was a homestead not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres to every head of a family who will make a farm upon it. And in view of a fact which no State can afford to overlook, that a successful agriculture is the primal necessity and grand inspiration of every other industry, and that, to be truly successful, agriculture, like every other craft, should be learned, prosperous colleges have been endowed out of the public domain, wherein the virtuous culture may be reared from the rank of a craft to the dignity of a science; to the grandeur even of an art.

But as establishing the future land policy of the Republic, the House of Representatives is subdivided.

Resolved, That in the judgment of this House the policy of granting subsidies in public land to railroad and other corporations ought to be discontinued; and that every consideration of public policy and equal justice to the whole people requires that the public lands of the United States should be held for the exclusive purpose of securing homesteads to actual settlers, under the homestead and pre-emption laws, subject to reasonable appropriations of such lands for educational purposes.

THE UNION PRESERVED.

Fellow-citizens, when you committed the Union to the keeping of the Republican party, it seemed on the verge of dissolution. Many hoped and some feared it had received an incurable wound. We present the Union to you today every whit whole. The Republic is at peace throughout its borders; she is at peace with all the world. Her rightful authority is disputed nowhere; her opinions are respected everywhere. She stands in the very vanguard of sovereign States. We challenge history to produce another instance of a country raised from such humiliation to such grandeur in so short a time. And this transformation has been wrought not merely without the aid of the Democratic party, but in spite of its utmost hostility.

You have seen the shortcomings of that party in administration. Its faults in opposing have been still more glaring. Perhaps they can be forgiven for allowing the Ship of State to drift so near the rocks. But how can they be forgiven their struggles to prevent her from being snatched from that peril? That charity, which delights to think no evil, may excuse their omission to lift the country, upon the plea of incompetency. But not charity, which would have seen the shortcomings of that party in administration. Its faults in opposing have been still more glaring. Perhaps they can be forgiven for allowing the Ship of State to drift so near the rocks. But how can they be forgiven their struggles to prevent her from being snatched from that peril? That charity, which delights to think no evil, may excuse their omission to lift the country, upon the plea of incompetency. But not charity, which would have seen the shortcomings of that party in administration. 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